



The Story of Iason and Medeia

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THE STORY OF IASON AND MEDEIA.

By Dr. A. H. KRAPPE.

The story of the voyage of the Argonauts was one of the most widely known and most popular throughout antiquity and down to the Middle Ages. It formed the subject matter of an ancient epic or epic cycle now irretrievably lost; it served as plot in many tragedies; it was twice in historical times made subject of an epic, and it still fascinated the readers of the Roman de Troie in mediaeval France. There can be little doubt that large parts of the old epic still existed in the Alexandrine epoch, and were drawn on not only by the tragedians and ancient mythographers such as Pherekydes, but also by Hellenistic writers, Apollodoros and Apollonios Rhodios.

A superficial glance at the extant versions of the legend ² suffices to distinguish two different elements which were interwoven in the texture of the epic. The first deals with the fate of the hero, Iason, his birth, his prowesses in a far-off land, his marriage with Medeia, and his tragic end; the second treats the adventures of the voyage of the Argo, where Iason plays a minor part, and the interest of the reader is attracted by quite a number of other heroes,

¹ T. Caracappa, Medea nella letteratura latina, Palermo (1920); C. L. Cholevius, Geschichte der deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen, Erster Teil, Leipzig (1854), p. 135.

² Lack of space does not permit me to enumerate them here. I limit myself to referring the reader to Roscher, Ausführliches Lexikon, vol. i., 1, c. 503; Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyklopädie, vol. ii. (1896), c. 743; O. Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, München (1906), p. 540; Sir J. G. Frazer, "Apollodorus," The Library, London (1921), vol. i. pp. 94 et seq.

lason's companions. The union of these two elements is by no means very organic. As we said, during the voyage Iason is often lost sight of. On the other hand, we cannot help wondering why in Kolchis such brave and powerful companions as the sons of Boreas, the Spartan Dioscuri, Idas and Lynkeus, should be mere idle spectators and of no assistance whatever to Iason, for whose sake they had left their homes. It is clear that the two elements are rather of hindrance to each other, and thus the seam, the work of the poet who joined them, still appears in all the versions which have come down to us.

We suspect the origin of the second element, the adventurous voyage, to be little more than a number of local legends strung together, and very naturally the priests of the sanctuaries along the coast of the Aegean, the Propontis, and the Euxine are most likely to have smuggled them into the epic, thus collaborating in the great work in much the same way as the mediaeval shrines helped to build up the Old French chanson de geste. 3 The rise of the first element is less clear: all we can discern is that Greek colonization for historic reasons saw in Iason a suitable hero to revere as the pathfinder of Hellenic civilization along the shores of the Black Sea. It is also evident that the account of the voyage may well have been of slow growth, gradually adding new episodes unto itself as the foundation of new colonies on the coasts would demand: but there can be no question that the story of Iason is an organic whole, and must have been created by one master mind under the impulse of historical facts no longer apparent.

To approach the solution of the problems connected with its sources, let us enumerate some of its most characteristic traits:

- I. A king sends a relative out on a perilous quest.
- 2. This quest can be successful only after the performance of other tasks imposed upon the hero.

³ Cf. Gruppe, op. cit., p. 556, and Jessen, in Pauly-Wissowa, loc. cit.

- 3. The object desired by the king is a priceless treasure.
- 4. Connected with the main task is the liberation of a prince from loathsome animals which defile his food.
- 5. The hero is called upon to tame a fierce animal or animals and to plough a field.
- 6. He is aided by a marvellous ship given him by a protecting deity.
- 7. He flees, carrying with him a princess of marvellous beauty, an expert in the magic arts, granddaughter of the Sun.⁴
- 8. Having arrived home, the princess rejuvenates her husband and, being asked to do likewise to the old-king, kills him and lives as the wife of the young hero.

All of these elements are found in a wide-spread folktale, generally known as *The Quest of the Princess with the Golden Hair.*⁵ This *märchen* contains a few more traits which we should look in vain for in the story of the Argonauts. They are:

- I. The hero is to go in quest of the princess for the king, and it is much against the latter's will that she marries the hero.
- 2. In the large majority of the *märchen* versions the hero performs the tasks imposed upon him with the aid of grateful animals.
 - 3. In practically all versions the hero marries the princess, and they live happy ever after.

The Greek epic legend, on the other hand, contains the following traits not found in the folktale:

1. The hero achieves his tasks with the help of the princess.

⁴ Apollodoros, i. 9. 1.

⁵ Grimm, Kinder- und Haus-Märchen, No. 126, Ferenand getrü un Ferenand ungetrü; cf. Bolte-Polívka, Anmerkungen, vol. iii. pp. 18-37; A. Aarne, Verzeichnis der Märchentypen, Helsinki (1910), No. 531; Cosquin, Contes populaires de Lorraine, Paris (1886), vol. i. pp. 32-49; vol. ii. pp. 290-303.

- 2. The princess kills a near relative of hers who pursues her and her lover.
- 3. Iason's infidelity and Medeia's revenge.

We see that three traits of the *märchen* have been replaced by others, which, with certain modifications, occur in another *märchen* type, that of the *Magic Flight*.⁶

The presumption would then be that the story of Iason and Medeia is due to the successful juxtaposition of two folktale motifs and a tragic ending.⁷

Let us now compare the story of the Argonauts with the folktales trait by trait, in order to account for the discrepancies of the different versions which have come down to us from antiquity.

In all complete accounts of Iason's transactions with his uncle Pelias, the story takes its beginning with the sinister oracle which comes true in spite of all the measures of precaution taken by the king. It was one of the favourite motifs of Greek legend, as it occurs in practically all the great legendary cycles.

While in the version of Pindar 8 it is the shadow of Phryxos who, according to a statement of Pelias, asks him to fetch the fleece from Kolchis, in the *Library* of Apollodoros the king tells the oracle to his nephew without mentioning names, and then asks him what he would do with such a man as was a menace to his life. Iason answered that he would send him to fetch the golden fleece, whereupon Pelias bids him carry out his own verdict. This is another fairy-tale motif occurring in the *märchen* type of the *Innocent Queen*. 9 There the old queen is generally told a

⁶ Grimm, op. cit., No. 113, De beiden Künigeskinner; Bolte-Polivka, vol. ii. pp. 516-27; Aarne, No. 313.

⁷ The similarity of the first märchen with the Greek legend was recognized by Bolte-Polívka, vol. iii. p. 33, that of the second by Von Hahn, Griechische und albanesische Märchen (1918), vol. i. p. lxxxvii, and Bolte-Polívka, vol. ii. p. 525.

⁸ Pythia, iv. 159.

⁹ Bolte-Polívka, vol. i. pp. 86 et seq.

crime like the one she herself committed, and is asked what sort of penalty should be inflicted upon any person guilty of it. She does not see the real meaning, and indicates some atrocious punishment, which she has to suffer in consequence. Since this motif has been taken out of its original setting and represents a certain refinement, I am inclined to consider the version of Apollodoros less primitive in this point.

Iason goes to collect his companions, the most renowned heroes of Greece, who assemble from all parts of the mainland. It goes without saying that this trait cannot have formed a part of the legend in its oldest stage; it is rather the outcome of panhellenism and the cyclic movement. What certainly was found in the most primitive form of the story was an account of the ship Argo, of the manner in which the hero procured it for himself, and of its marvellous qualities.

The Argo was built by Argos upon the advice of Athena. At the prow the goddess fitted in a speaking timber from the sacred oak of Dodona. In most of the European versions of *The Quest of the Princess with the Golden Hair* the hero does not travel by ship, but on horseback. However, the horse is marvellous, just as marvellous as Iason's ship, in that it has the power of speech and gives useful advice to the hero. What is still more noteworthy is that in a Scotch tale the hero is indeed aided by a ship,

10 Such is the case in the following versions which are known to me: Gonzenbach, Sicilianische Volksmärchen, Leipzig (1870), vol. i. p. 191, No. 30, Die Geschichte von Ciccu, and vol. ii. p. 143, No. 83, Die Geschichte von Caruseddu; Grimm, op. cit., No. 126; Haltrich, Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen, Wien (1885), Nos. 10 and 79; Straparola, Piacevoli Notti, giorn. iii. No. 2; A. Waldau, Böhmisches Märchenbuch, Prag (1860), p. 368, Die falschen Brüder; Andrews, Contes ligures, Paris (1892), p. 8, No. 2, Le Roi d'Angleterre. Sometimes the animal is a mule or a donkey, for example in Cosquin, op. cit., No. 73, vol. ii. pp. 290 et seq. In a Yugo-Slav story, F. S. Krauss, Tausend Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven, Band i., Leipzig (s.d.), p. 347, the hero uses a marvellous wagon which moves by itself.

or rather by a magician who can transform himself into a ship or a horse at will. Also it is to be noted that, just as Athena furnishes the Argo to Iason, so some protective spirit, God, 12 the Virgin, 13 or even the devil, 14 gives to the hero of the folktale a magic horse. We may therefore safely conclude that in the most primitive version of the legend of the Argonauts Iason had a magic ship furnished him directly by the goddess, and that the rôle of Argos and the piece from the oak of Dodona are later additions. In that original version it was undoubtedly the Argo which warned the hero of the manifold dangers that beset his path. In the extant versions the part of the speaking ship is reduced to a very minimum, so much so that the reader has a right to ask why the speaking wood from the sacred oak was introduced at all. On the other hand, we notice that one of the hosts of the Argonauts, King Phineus, gives them much good advice upon their departure, and we surmise that he took over the rôle of the speaking ship.

Phineus ¹⁵ is described as a blind seer. Accounts vary as to the true reason for his blindness, ¹⁶ but all are agreed in another punishment inflicted upon him. Whenever he sat down at table the Harpies came swooping down from the sky, snatched away some of the food, and soiled the rest in such a manner that no one could eat it. The Harpies themselves are represented as winged female creatures. The Argonauts, or rather two of them, the sons of Boreas, pursue them, killing them according to some

¹¹ MacInnes, Folk and Hero Tales, London (1890), p. 161, No. 6.

¹² For instance in the French story of Cosquin.

¹⁸ Cosquin, op. cit., vol. ii. p. 294.

¹⁴ W. Wisser, Wat Grotmoder vertellt, Jena (1909), p. 82.

¹⁶ Roscher, op. cit., vol. iii. 2, c. 2357; Gruppe, op. cit., p. 570; Sir J. G. Frazer, op. cit., vol. i. p. 103.

 $^{^{16}}$ Apollod., i. 9. 21 ; cf. also iii. 15. 3, and Frazer's note, ii. pp. 106 $\it et\ seq.$

accounts, 17 and merely freeing the king from them according to others. 18

At first sight the whole episode looks very much like an hors d'œuvre, having little or nothing to do with the main issue, the quest of the golden fleece. But we shall have to adopt a different view after examining two Irish variants of The Quest of the Princess with the Golden Hair. In one of the tales collected by J. Curtin in Western Ireland 19 we meet with the following situation: -- A king sends the hero out on difficult quests, one of which is to enquire from a renowned magician, the Gruagach Gaire, the cause of his sadness. The hero arrives at the magician's dwelling, and is received by him as his servant. After some time, when they sit down to dinner, a hare suddenly comes running and soils the food, leaving such a stench that no one can touch it. The hero is amazed, but pursues the hare and kills it. Then the Gruagach helps him to win the daughter of the king. A second Irish story of the same collection is still more to the point.²⁰ The hero Gilla na Grakin enters the service of Fin Mac Cumhail. Distinguishing himself by his strength, he is hated by a retainer of the chief, called Conan Maol. This traitor suggests to Fin that the stranger will kill them all unless Fin banish him from his castle. Upon the chief's enquiry how he could banish such a powerful man, Conan advises to send Gilla out to fetch two marvellous objects from the King of Lochlin and another king. Gilla easily succeeds in accomplishing both these tasks. Then his enemy suggests to Fin to send him to find out what it was that left the Gruagach with but one hair on his head. Gilla goes to the eastern world, conquers

¹⁷ Apollod., i. 9. 21.

¹⁸ Apollon. Rhod., Argon., ii. 284-98.

¹⁰ J. Curtin, Myths and Folklore of Ireland, Boston (1906), p. 114, The Shee an Gannon and the Gruagach Gaire.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 244, Gilla na Grakin and Fin Mac Cumhail.

the magician, and is told about the hare and the subsequent misfortunes that befell him. Then they sit down at table, and the hare is not long in coming and defiling the food. Gilla pursues and kills it. Thus freed, the Gruagach accompanies his benefactor to bear witness of his prowess before Fin. Gilla then has to accomplish other tasks, among others to kill the wild bull of a king whose land he reaches with the help of a magic vessel.

This Irish story bears a striking similarity to the Greek legend, and is at the same time different enough to exclude the possibility of the episode of the Harpies having penetrated among the Irish peasantry. It clearly shows that the motif of the loathsome animal or animals is apt to be met with in connection with the story of The Quest of the Princess with the Golden Hair. Whatever its origin, it is undoubtedly of dateless antiquity, having in all probability been dropped in many other versions of the same type. It evidently formed a part of the Greek or pre-Hellenic folktale which must be thought the basis of the legend of the Argonauts.

Arrived in Kolchis, Iason is asked by Aietes to plough a field with two fierce brazen-footed bulls, to sow dragon's teeth, and to conquer the armed men that will spring up from the earth in consequence.

In the *märchen* of the *Quest* it is a familiar episode that the hero is not given the princess before he has performed several, generally three, extremely difficult tasks. He comes out successful owing to the help granted him by grateful animals. The tasks vary in the different versions, and have in common only their extraordinary difficulty. The Greek legend, however, does not stand alone in assigning to the hero the labour of taming fierce animals and ploughing a field. In a Danish story the hero is asked to tame a wild horse and to plough a field.²¹ In a Nor-

²¹ S. Grundtvig, Gamle Danske Minder i Folkemunde, vols. i.-iii., København (1854-61), vol. ii. 1, Vulle Bondedreng.

wegian *märchen* he must tame an infernal horse.²² The same is true in a French,²³ a Bulgarian,²⁴ and a number of Russian tales.²⁵ In a Lorrain story of Cosquin the hero has to convert an arid mountain into a fruit and flower garden.²⁶

In all the versions of the *Quest* the king is not only anxious to possess the princess; he is equally eager for a number of other treasures which the hero has to obtain for him. These are generally objects of rare beauty and of priceless value. A number show a remarkable similarity to the golden fleece, and I shall mention them here for this reason.

In a Swedish story the hero is called upon to fetch two golden rams.²⁷ In a Roumanian tale the object is a golden pig.²⁸ A Serbian ²⁹ and a Macedonian ³⁰ version mention three golden apples, and another Serbian story a ram with a golden fleece.³¹

Medeia, the princess with the golden hair of the Greek legend, is the daughter of Aietes, who is said to have been the son of Helios and brother of Kirke and Pasiphae. Her solar connections are therefore very well established.

²² G. W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse*, Edinburgh (1859), p. 313.

²³ Rev. Trad. pop., vol. xiv. p. 549, Le pêcheur de Saint Cast.

²⁴ Sapkarev, Sbornik ot balgarski narodni umotvorenija, etc., Sofia (1892), p. 5, No. 5.

²⁵ Bolte-Polívka, vol. iii. pp. 27-8.

²⁶ Op. cit., vol. i. p. 40.

²⁷ Hyltén-Cavallius, Svenska Folksagor och Afventyr, vol. i., Stockholm (1844-9), p. 458.

²⁸ Schullerus, Rumänische Volksmärchen aus dem mittleren Harbachtale, Hermannstadt (1906), Arch. f. siebenbürg. Landeskunde, vol. xxxiii. p. 566.

²⁹ Wratislaw, Sixty Folk-tales from exclusively Slavonic Sources, London (1889), No. 42, p. 239.

³⁰ Sapkarev, op. cit., No. 213, p. 360.

²¹ Wuk, Volksmärchen der Serben, Berlin (1854), No. 12.

It is noteworthy that in at least two fairy stories the princess is likewise named the Virgin of the Sun.³²

In the Greek heroic legend it is not the princess whom the hero is sent out to fetch. She rather takes the place of the grateful animals or the supernatural helper ³³ and aids the hero against her own father. We have seen above that this divergence is due to the influence of another märchen type, that of the Magic Flight. In order not to interrupt this examination we shall defer our analysis of this second folktale, and shall proceed to the happenings after the arrival of the hero and the princess in Greece.

The story runs like this: Medeia persuades the daughters of Pelias to rejuvenate their old father. To inspire them with confidence in her magic arts she cuts up a ram, throws the pieces into a boiling caldron, and draws him out a lamb. Then the daughters do the same with Pelias, who thus meets with a terrible death.³⁴ There exist, however, other versions which mention additional facts of interest in this examination.

Pherekydes, a very reliable author on mythical subjects, who wrote in the fifth century before Christ, and Simonides narrate that Medeia first applied the magical restorative to Iason himself.³⁵ This fact is highly important, as it will remove the last doubt about the identity of the Greek legend with the modern folktale under discussion.

In the Italian version of Straparola, 36 the princess, who cares more for the youth than for the old sultan, his master, kills the hero and brings him to life again. When the sultan wishes to undergo the same experiment, she stabs

³² Lud, Organ towarzystwa ludoznawczego we Lwowie pod redakcya, vol. ix. p. 172; Zapiski, Krasnojarskago etc., vol. ii. p. 226, No. 53.

<sup>This is a giant in a French tale of Cosquin, No. 3, vol. i. pp. 32 et seq.
Apollod., i. 9, 27.</sup>

³⁵ J. G. Frazer, op. cit., vol. i. p. 122. The Νόστοι, and, after them, Ovid, Metam., vii. 262, relate that Medeia rejuvenated Iason's father

⁸⁶ Op. cit., giorn. iii., No. 2.

him, throws him into a ditch, and marries the hero. A similar solution is found in the German story told by the Grimms and three Bohemian märchen.³⁷ In other versions the hero and the king, at the instigation of the princess, enter a burning oven; the hero escapes unhurt and rejuvenated, but the old king is burned to death.³⁸ Still greater is the resemblance of the story of Medeia and Pelias with such versions as narrate how the princess induces both the hero and the king to take a bath in boiling milk or oil,³⁹ in order to kill the old king and rejuvenate the hero.⁴⁰

Let us now discuss the divergences of the legend of the Argonauts from the folktale.

Medeia, upon seeing the foreign hero, falls in love with him. After having made him take an oath never to forsake her, she indicates to him the means of accomplishing the tasks imposed upon him by her father. When Aietes still refuses to deliver up the golden fleece, she lulls to sleep the dragon while Iason takes the treasure. Then they steal away in the night. According to one group of versions, they are overtaken by her brother Apsyrtos with a band of Kolchians; Medeia treacherously invites him to an interview, where he is slain by Iason. According to other sources, Apsyrtos is a child and taken with her.

³⁷ Op. cit., No. 126; K. J. Erben, Slovanská cítanka, Výbor prostonárodních pohádek a pověstí slovanských v nářečích původních, Prag (1859), No. 10; cf. V. Tille, Verzeichnis der böhmischen Märchen, Helsinki (1921), vol. i. pp. 209, 289; Waldau, op. et loc. cit.

³⁸ Gonzenbach, op. cit., Nos. 30 and 83.

³⁹ A. Dirr, Kaukasische Märchen, Jena (1920), p. 110, No. 23, Die tapfere Tochter; F. Caballero, Cuentos, oraciones, adivinas y refranes populares é infantiles, Leipzig (1878), p. 23; Schott, Walachische Märchen, Stuttgart (1845), No. 17, p. 184; Schullerus, op. et loc. cit.; R. Köhler, Kleine Schriften, vol. i. p. 467.

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. i. p. 468; P. Toldo, Studi di filologia romanza, vol. ix. p. 230.

⁴¹ Apollon. Rhod., Argon., iv. 224 et seq. and 303-481; Hyg., Fab. 23.

When Aietes pursues them, Medeia mangles her brother's body and throws the limbs into the sea. Then the king, wishing to collect the remains of his son, falls back in his pursuit, and the Argo escapes.⁴²

As was pointed out above, these données are in accordance with the märchen type of the Magic Flight, which may be summarized as follows:—A prince falls into the power of a wizard or demon. He is asked to fulfil certain tasks, apparently impossible, but which he accomplishes with the help of the demon's daughter. He then flees with the girl, after they have vowed to be married to one another. They are pursued by the demon, but escape, thanks to the girl's knowledge of the magic arts. Often the hero sees himself obliged to kill a near relative of his bride on this pursuit.⁴³

It is not difficult to see the reasons which induced the epic poet to have recourse to such a juxtaposition of two märchen types. Iason needs help to accomplish the superhuman tasks. The motif of the grateful animals is unfit for a heroic legend, so Medeia had to step in. One inconsistency naturally arose and still exists in all versions which have come down to us. The princess in the märchen has an excellent reason to kill the old king, as she is desirous of marrying the young and brave hero. Medeia, however, has no particular reason to hate Pelias. It would have been Iason's duty to avenge his parents on his uncle. Instead Medeia alone accomplishes this revenge, and it undoubtedly contributed to confer upon her the evil reputation of a malevolent witch that is attached to her name in practically all versions both ancient and mediaeval.

The episode of Medeia killing her little brother and throwing his limbs in the way of the pursuers has evidently taken the place of another fairy-tale motif, that of throwing

⁴² Apollod., i. 9. 24.

⁴³ Rittershaus, Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen, Halle (1902), pp. 143, 145; G. Rua, Novelle del Cieco da Ferrara, Torino (1888), p. 84, La sposa dimenticata.

objects in the path of the pursuing enemy.⁴⁴ Being equally unsuitable for an epic on account of its miraculous features, it was replaced by a mere stratagem, based upon the well-known custom of the Greeks of according honourable burial to their dead and the religious beliefs underlying it.⁴⁵

Let us now come to the last important point of the Medeia legend, the tragic ending. It is unknown to any complete folktale, of which the happy ending is perhaps its most outstanding characteristic. The epic form cannot use it; for it is but a truism to say that all great epics have a tragic, or at least no happy, ending. To this another consideration must be added. Medeia, and through her also Iason, has been guilty of crimes that must have appeared most shocking to the Greek mind, as they are still shocking to us, and divine vengeance must overtake the offenders if the moral structure is to hold. And behind it all lurks the old, the universal truth so well expressed by the poet:

Ein Jüngling hatte ein Mädchen lieb, Sie flohen heimlich von Hause fort, Es wusst' weder Vater noch Mutter,

Sie sind gewandert hin und her, Sie haben gehabt weder Glück noch Stern, Sie sind verdorben, gestorben.

It would be erroneous, however, to suppose the unravelling of the plot due to the epic poet alone. He found in the märchen of the Magic Flight certain traits which he could use as points d'attache. In a large number of

⁴⁴ Bolte-Polívka, vol. ii. p. 140.

⁴⁵ I do not recall any parallel of the episode narrating the dismemberment of a human body to divert the pursuers. In most heroic legends the object thrown out reacts on the greed of the pursuers rather than on their feeling of piety; cf. Heimskringla, Saga of Harald Hardrade, cap. 35; Saxo Grammaticus, ed. Holder, vol. ii. pp. 47, 55, and the story of Hrolfr Kraki and King Adils; Axel Olrik, Danmarks Heltedigining, København (1903), vol. i. p. 37.

versions the hero, in spite of the warnings of his bride, suffers himself to be kissed upon his return home, and in consequence forgets the girl. He is about to marry another when the true bride appears and is recognized by him.

I have tried to show that the story of Iason and Medeia is based on a wide-spread märchen type, generally known under the name The Quest of the Princess with the Golden Hair. To adapt it to the epic form, and probably also to certain historic données, 46 the epic poet modified it by adding three traits from another type, that of the Magic Flight. The incidents of the voyage, with the exception of the fight against the Harpies, were later added to connect a number of sanctuaries and settlements with the epic legend. The episode of the king tormented by the Harpies was probably contained in the märchen of the Quest, as it is still found in two Irish versions collected in our times, but certainly uninfluenced by the clasical tale. 47

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⁴⁶ For the quasi-historical events on which these marchen appear to have been grafted at an early date, see Miss J. R. Bacon in *The Voyage of the Argonauts*, reviewed elsewhere in this number. [ED.]

⁴⁷ Since the MS. of this study was submitted to the late editor of Folk-Lore, the number of modern variants which I have been able to compare has more than trebled; but they all tend to confirm the conclusions set out above. The work of K. Meuli, Odyssee und Argonautika, Berlin (1926), has not been accessible to me.